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Security Council

Forty-ninth Year

Provisional

3381st Meeting

Thursday, 26 May 1994, 11.30 a.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Gambari	(Nigeria)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Cardenas
	Brazil	Mr. Sardenberg
	China	Mr. Li Zhaoxing
	Czech Republic	Mr. Rovensky
	Djibouti	Mr. Dorani
	France	Mr. Mérimée
	New Zealand	Mr. Keating
	Oman	Mr. Al-Taee
	Pakistan	Mr. Marker
	Russian Federation	Mr. Vorontsov
	Rwanda	Mr. Abimana
	Spain	Mr. Yañez Barnuevo
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David Hannay
	United States of America	Mr. Gnehm

Agenda

Central America: efforts towards peace

Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador (S/1994/561 and Add.1)

Letter dated 24 May 1994 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/1994/612)

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The meeting was called to order at 12 noon.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Central America: efforts towards peace

Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador (S/1994/561 and Add.1)

Letter dated 24 May 1994 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/1994/612)

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on the agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador, contained in document S/1994/561 and Addendum 1; and a letter dated 24 May 1994 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council, contained in document S/1994/612.

Members of the Council also have before them document S/1994/613, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I shall first call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements before the voting.

Mr. Gnehm (United States of America): The step the Council takes today in renewing the mandate of the United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador (ONUSAL) signifies not only the continued success of this operation for the international community, but, moreover, a triumph for the people of El Salvador, a triumph of peace over adversity, democracy over war, conciliation over animosity. On behalf of my Government, I congratulate the people of El Salvador - and praise them - on the successful completion of elections which saw the participation of all sides in a peaceful, if imperfect, political milestone.

ONUSAL's role in the Salvadorian peace process has been absolutely essential. This process has transformed political life in El Salvador and brings the hope of a bright future for a country that just a few years ago was tormented by the violent polarization of society.

My Government must recognize the singular role played by outgoing President Alfredo Cristiani in effecting the heartening transition to peace. Similarly, this transition would not have been possible without the cooperation and commitment of the FMLN. The just-completed timetable for the implementation of pending agreements testifies to this continuing cooperation between the parties.

We very much welcome the commitment made by President-elect Armando Calderón Sol, reiterated here in New York, to the Peace Accords in their entirety, and his pledge to carry forward with this noble advance towards the creation of what he has called a "completely new El Salvador".

Much remains to be done, however, in implementing important elements of those Accords. We note particularly the need for full deployment of the new National Civil Police, for completion of the land transfer and reform programme, for assistance to ex-combatants and for fulfilment of all recommendations of the Commission on the Truth. It is our belief that ONUSAL can and will continue to provide important assistance and advice during the final stage of implementation of the Peace Accords.

We welcome the intent of the Secretary-General, as conveyed in his report of 11 May, to continue reducing ONUSAL as it meets its objectives. We must stress the importance of continued monitoring of ONUSAL's expenses, a key element in the sound management of any peacekeeping operation. We look forward to the Secretary-General's report in August on these most important issues.

Mr. Li Zhaoxing (China) *(interpretation from Chinese):* There is no lack of success stories in United Nations peace-keeping operations, and the issue of the United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador (ONUSAL) under our consideration today is about to become another one. Practice in El Salvador proves that

the success of a peacekeeping operation depends, first and foremost, on whether the parties to a conflict have the sincerity and political will to resolve the conflict and achieve reconciliation. It is only through the parties to a conflict that the root cause of the conflict can be genuinely removed. In the final analysis, the role of peacekeepinq operations is one of complementing and promoting the process.

The advances made in the peace process in El Salvador have been hard won, and the successful completion of the mandate of ONUSAL still requires the continued efforts of the Government of El Salvador and the FMLN to overcome the delays in implementing the Peace Accord and start early implementation of the "Timetable for the implementation of the most important outstanding agreements", concluded recently, especially such issues as the deployment of the National Civil Police, the transfer of land and the demobilization and resettlement of ex-combatants, so as to avoid falling short of success for lack of a final effort.

The draft resolution before us has reflected this spirit, and the Chinese deleqation will therefore vote in favour of it.

Though China and Latin America are geographically far apart, China has always attached great importance to the process of peaceful settlement of the conflicts concerned, and has actively supported the Security Council in its unswerving efforts to restore peace and stability in these war-torn countries. China will continue to do so in the future.

Mr. Sardenberg (Brazil) *(interpretation from Spanish):* Brazil follows with great interest the evolution of the political process in El Salvador. We share the positive evaluation by the Secretary-Gereral in his recent report on the situation in that country. The inclusion of the Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional (FMLN) in the political life of the country and the setting in motion of an electoral process held under conditions that were generally acceptable indicate that the Salvadorians are very close to the successful consolidation of the peace process.

Brazil welcomes with particular satisfaction the agreement between the Government and the FMLN on the "Timetable for the implementation of the most important outstanding agreements", signed on 19 May. Steps such as the deployment of the National Civil Police and the disbanding of the National Police, as well as to the programme of land transfers, represent important provisions for national reconciliation. It is essential that the parties continue moving forward in their efforts to achieve the many goals set in the Peace Accords.

Much has been achieved. But at this crucial moment in the consolidation of peace in El Salvador, it would be most disturbing if the United Nations were removed from the process. Although notable progress has been made, important aspects of the Accords have still not been fully carried out. Therefore, the delegation of Brazil supports the renewal, for a six-month period, of the verification and good offices activities of the United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador (ONUSAL), in which Brazil takes an active part. Likewise, we hope that the parties will continue moving towards national reconciliation and fully comply with all the provisions of the Chapultepec Accords and the recently signed agreement of 19 May.

The delegation of Brazil recognizes the important role played by President Alfredo Cristiani and the leaders of the FMLN in consolidating peace in El Salvador. We wish also to express our gratitude to the Secretary-General, to Mr. Augusto Ramírez Ocampo and to the personnel of ONUSAL. The delegation of Brazil welcomes Mr. ter Horst, who was appointed the new Special Representative of the Secretary-General on 1 April.

The peace process in El Salvador contains the necessary elements to be an example to the world. Nevertheless, the Security Council must continue watching the situation in order to prevent any risk to the process of national reconciliation.

El Salvador seems to be emerging from a long period of lost hopes to enter a new era based on the Peace Accords and the choice made by its people in favour of democracy and the rule of law. Brazil will continue to support the peace process in El Salvador, a brother nation of Latin America, in the Security Council and in other United Nations organs.

Mr. Yañez Barnuevo (Spain) *(interpretation from Spanish):* I wish first to thank the Secretary-General for the submission of his report of 11 May on the United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador (ONUSAL) and for the five reports on the electoral process supervised by the ONUSAL Electoral Division. I wish also to echo the

two reports concerning the human rights situation in El Salvador submitted to the General Assembly since last November on the basis of the work of the Human Rights Division of ONUSAL.

Similarly, I wish to pay tribute to the representatives of the Secretary-General in El Salvador: Mr. Ramírez Ocampo, until 31 March, and, since that date, Mr. ter Horst. The work of both has been most commendable and accounts in large measure for the success of ONUSAL in its tasks of observation and support for the process of national reconciliation of the Salvadorian people.

Since the adoption of resolution 888 (1993) last November, which renewed the mandate of ONUSAL - which we are now preparing to renew once again - El Salvador has held presidential, legislative and municipal elections, and has also elected its representatives to the Central American Parliament. The elections of 20 March and 24 April are a historical landmark that irreversibly marks the overcoming of a conflict of more than 12 years' duration by integrating the FMLN into the Salvadorian political process, thus opening up a new phase in the country's institutional and democratic development.

The Security Council, in the statement of its President on 7 April last, echoed its support for the first round of elections which were held under appropriate conditions of freedom and safety. The same can be said of the second round of presidential elections, though both rounds presented certain problems of organization and participation. This underscores the need for Salvadorian institutions to engage in a reform of the electoral system that will guarantee the exercise of the right to vote for all Salvadorian voters.

In this context, my delegation takes note of the offer made by the United Nations to lend its technical support to those institutions so that this electoral reform can be carried out under the best possible conditions; this, I am certain, is the wish of all the political and social forces of El Salvador.

Though they are a very important landmark, the elections have not marked the end of the political process emanating from the Peace Agreements signed a little over two years ago between the Government and the Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional (FMLN). The report of the Secretary-General of 11 May describes the existence of significant provisions of those Agreements which still remain to be carried out in their entirety.

I believe we are all convinced of the importance of those pending aspects: first, the full implementation of programmes for the reintegration of former combatants, especially the programmes for the transfer of land; secondly, complete fulfilment of the recommendations of the Commission on the Truth; and most especially the full replacement of the National Police by the National Civil Police, under conditions that respect the delicate balance set out in the Peace Agreements. On this aspect of compliance with the Peace Agreements, as well as on others, Spain has made a special contribution through ONUSAL and through bilateral and other channels.

If the delay and the difficulties experienced in the implementation of the Peace Agreements are a source of concern, the will demonstrated by the Salvadorian Government and the FMLN, as well as by other of the country's institutions and sectors, to move forward towards full implementation gives cause for hope and recognition of the efforts of Salvadorians to overcome past antagonisms.

We are particularly pleased that on 19 May last an Agreement was concluded on a timetable for the implementation of the most important agreements pending. That timetable, which contains provisions relating to the timing and form of compliance with the agreements, should be carried out strictly and, where necessary, with appropriate verification and assistance on the part of ONUSAL.

Through the draft resolution before us today, the Council urges the parties to spare no effort to respect the provisions of that timetable, which, in the final analysis, is nothing more than an appeal for full compliance with the Peace Agreements to w..ch the timetable refers.

We are sure that the Council's appeal will find fruitful ground in the willingness evinced by all Salvadorian political sectors. I wish to note in particular the renewed commitment of the President-elect, Mr. Calderon Sol, to the Peace Agreements, first made before the Salvadorian people and then before the United Nations Secretary-General and the Group of Friends of the Secretary-General during the President-elect's visit to New York on the eve of his taking office on 1 June.

The members of the Council have understood that the presence of ONUSAL over the coming period, with the necessary adjustments, is still fully justified. The task of consolidating peace is of critical importance, and United Nations assistance continues to be necessary to

accompany the process and support the efforts of the Salvadorian people themselves. It is they who must shoulder their responsibility in the task of construction which falls principally to them. In this respect, Spain is confident that they will be capable of fulfilling the peace process in a way that will do honour to the historic agreement signed in Chapultepec.

Within a few days, the Joint Group for the Investigation of Politically Motivated Illegal Armed Groups will present the conclusions of its work for the last six months. This evocation of the events of the past should promote a resolve never to allow them to be repeated and, in contrast, should make us appreciate fully the enormous progress that has been achieved in the past few years.

Beginning 1 June, the new institutions of El Salvador will be set in motion, no longer darkened by any shadow of doubt as to their legitimacy. This is due essentially to the remarkable achievements of the previous administration of President Cristiani and the leaders of the FMLN. Between them, they have made it possible for us to move forward to a new chapter in the history of El Salvador, a chapter in which leadership will be in the hands of civil society and political parties integrated into a democratic system.

Mr. Cárdenas (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Today, the Security Council is considering the renewal of the mandate of the United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador (ONUSAL), thus fulfilling one further phase that is of decisive importance in the consolidation of democracy in that kindred nation.

The transparency and legitimacy observed during the electoral process are unequivocal signs of the democratic determination already shown by the Government and people of El Salvador and their irreversible resolve to consolidate their civil institutions within a framework of peace and mutual respect among the various political sectors participating. The aftermath of this electoral process and the firm commitment to consolidate peace and democracy in El Salvador, in conformity with the Chapultepec Agreements, justify the extension of the mandate of ONUSAL and demonstrates that the instruments of the Organization are being adapted to the need to resolve those crises in which the parties involved express their will to settle their differences peacefully.

For those reasons, we express our support for the proposal made by the Secretary-General, on the understanding that, along with a settlement of those issues that have been on hold by virtue of the timetable set down in the Peace Agreements, the force should be gradually refuced in a flexible manner in order to guarantee the proper completion of the task for which it was originally created.

This renewal of ONUSAL should be reinforced by an appeal to the parties to honour without delay the commitments they have undertaken. To that end, specific and realistic dates should be set for the discussion of pending issues.

My delegation took active part, to the extent of its ability, in all of the preliminary negotiations leading up to the text before us today. That participation was our way of expressing once again our commitment to the process of pacification and democratization of Central America, a process we have actively promoted: first, with military observers in the United Nations Observer Group in Central America (ONUCA), subsequently with a unit of patrol boats, and in 1991 with a medical team from our navy, as well as with civilian observers who took part in the two rounds of elections held in March and April of this year in El Salvador.

Similarly, we will continue to support the culmination of the process and any initiative in the framework of our Organization which provides for continued implementation of the economic and social agreements deriving from the Peace Accords. For all these reasons, my delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution.

Mr. Vorontsov (Russian Federation) *(interpretation from Russian):* The Russian delegation will support the draft resolution on extending the mandate of the United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador (ONUSAL) for six months, until 30 November 1994, under the conditions recommended by the Secretary-General in his report (S/1994/561).

We believe that a large part of the credit for the successful holding of the recently concluded presidential and parliamentary elections in El Salvador, which was the culmination of the peace process, goes to the international community - first and foremost the United Nations, its Secretary-General and his representatives, and also to the entire staff of ONUSAL.

The Russian Federation believes that with the holding of elections in El Salvador this mission has in principle carried out its major task. At the same time,

today's draft resolution is needed because, as is pointed out in the report of the Secretary-General, unresolved problems remain after the elections. There are still delays and difficulties in implementing a number of important aspects of the Peace Accords which require the use of the good offices of the Secretary-General and also the continuation of tasks aimed at ensuring control over the parties' fulfilment of their obligations to ensure a speedy conclusion of the peace process.

Here we attach particular importance to the emphatic appeal in the draft resolution to the Government of El Salvador and the FMLN strictly to comply with the "Agreement on a timetable" for the implementation of all aspects of the Peace Accords, and also to the request to the Secretary-General to keep the Security Council informed, as appropriate, on progress on the implementation of the Agreement, and to report no later than 31 August 1994 on compliance with its timetable and on other relevant issues.

We also attach great importance to the submission by the Secretary-General by 1 November 1994 of a report on the fulfilment and completion of ONUSAL'S mandate and on modalities for its progressive withdrawal, and also to the preparation by the Secretary-General, in consultation with competent specialized agencies, of modalities for assistance to El Salvador, within the framework of the Peace Accords, for the post-ONUSAL period - up to the conclusion of the present extension of its mandate. That will allow for a smooth transition from a peace-keeping operation to the normal activity of the United Nations specialized agencies to render assistance to that country.

The President: I shall now put to the vote the draft resolution contained in document S/1994/613.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Argentina, Brazil, China, Czech Republic, Djibouti, France, New Zealand, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Rwanda, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 920 (1994).

I shall now call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Mr. Mérimée (France) *(intepretation from French):* My delegation welcomes the recent events in El Salvador. After a very bloody conflict, which tore Salvadorian society apart for many years, democratic elections were held for the first time, allowing the country to acquire a new Government and a new Parliament, within which the former warring parties are now seated side by side.

In going to the polls, the citizens of El Salvador have demonstrated that they wish to turn a page in their history. They have shown their will to live in peace rather than to continue to wage war. They have preferred the path of reconciliation and progress to that of division and recession.

France wishes warmly to congratulate the outgoing President, Mr. Cristiani, and Mr. Shafick Handal, leader of the FMLN, for their restraint and determination in bringing the peace process to this point. We hope that the new President and the democratic opposition will continue to cooperate for full implementation of the Chapultepec Accords.

The United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador (ONUSAL) played a very important role in observing the implementation of these Accords. This is why France decided to vote in favour of this resolution, which extends ONUSAL's mandate for six months, until 30 November 1994.

However, my country believes that there will soon be a need to put an end to this peace-keeping operation. We understand that ONUSAL has the full confidence of the parties to supervise certain aspects of the Chapultepec Accords, in particular, the deployment of the Naional Civil Police and the demobilization of the present National Police. France regrets that in this last area the initial timetable laid down by the Peace Accords has not been fully respected. We ask the parties to commit themselves to strictly comply with the new timetable established on 19 May 1994 to apply essential points of the Accords.

On the other hand, we believe that the economic and social aspects of the Peace Accords, some of which may be concluded after 1995, can be dealt with from now on by specialized agencies of the United Nations. Resolution 920 (1994) explicitly provides for this. France urges the Secretariat to follow the example of these institutions particularly the United Nations Development Programme, which is already working in El

Salvador, to take action which will allow for a takeover from ONUSAL in El Salvador during the stage of consolidating peace.

The United Nations is today in demand throughout the globe. The Organization's resources are scarce and valuable. We need to preserve them for those situations which are truly relevant to peace-keeping. Therefore, the Security Council needs to know how to put an end to an operation when circumstances no longer justify its continuation. This will very soon be the case in El Salvador, and we are gratified, since this is a sign of success.

Sir David Hannay (United Kingdom): The adoption of this resolution marks an important and, hopefully, decisive step forward in the peace process in El Salvador. Through the efforts of the international community, of the United Nations, and, most importantly, through the courage and determination of the people of El Salvador themselves, elections have been held with the participation of all the parties, elections which international observers pronounced generally free and fair. The United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador (ONUSAL) played a pivotal role in the historic events leading up to those elections. The United Nations can be justifiably proud of its achievements, and of the skill and dedication of the international personnel who have participated in the operation.

The task facing El Salvador, and ONUSAL, now is to consolidate what has been achieved in the peace process and by the conduct of the elections. To this end my Government feels it right that ONUSAL's mandate has been extended for one further six-month period, coinciding with the first six months in office of the new Government of El Salvador. As the Secretary-General made clear in his report, and the President-elect of El Salvador has acknowledged, there remains work to be done in implementing the outstanding provisions of the Peace Accords. The momentum must not be allowed to falter. But the task more and more must be taken on by Salvadorians themselves. The international community can and should continue to assist the process, but it cannot and should not become a substitute for action by the people of El Salvador themselves. My Government has been greatly encouraged in this regard by the agreement signed on 19 May by the Government of El Salvador and the FMLN, and by the President-elect's reaffirmation to you, Mr. President, and to the Secretary-General of his commitment to the timetable set out in that agreement.

ONUSAL has important tasks to perform in the coming months. But it is - and all the more credit to it - working itself out of a job; and the process of winding it down must also move ahead. The United Nations future role in El Salvador will be in the fields of development and human rights and not in peace-keeping. My Government will back international efforts to establish a coordinated framework for continued United Nations assistance to El Salvador once ONUSAL withdraws. The resolution we have just adopted is a crucial step in this process.

May I conclude by offering my Government's congratulations to the President-elect and to the newly elected representatives of the people of El Salvador. They have our support as they continue the task of implementing the peace accords and rebuilding their country.

The President: I should now like to make a statement in my capacity as Head of the Nigerian delegation.

Nigeria shares with the people of El Salvador immense joy and satisfaction at the progress which ONUSAL has made in their country. We would like to pay a special tribute to the Secretary-General and to his Special Representative in El Salvador for their efforts, as well as to those who have played such vital roles in the peace process there.

For close to 12 years that country has with great difficulties searched for durable peace. Now, at last, with the elections which have so far been held in the country, it now seems to be on the verge of that durable peace. I should like to congratulate the President-elect, with whom I was priviledged to speak with in my capacity as President of the Security Council. None the less, the Nigerian delegation feels that much still needs to be done for peace finally to take root in the country. The United Nations cannot at this stage turn its back on the people of El Salvador; therefore, Nigeria supports the tenor of the present resolution which urges to Government of El Salvador and the FMLN to comply with the agreement on a timetable for the implementation of the most important agreements pending. This resolution also rightly decides to extend the mandate of ONUSAL until 30 November 1994 in the terms recommended by the Secretary-General.

Nigeria has always felt and would like to repeat that the issue is not whether to terminate a mission whose task

is completed. In ONUSAL as well as in all other United Nations peace-keeping operations the issue is how to wind up a successful operation, or what appears to be a successful operation, in such a way and at such a time that the actions taken by this Council will not be self-defeating.

We join in the call for sustained support from the international community for the peace process in El Salvador and especially of the intervention by all international institutions engaged in the fields of development and finance. Nigeria is delighted to have voted in favour of the resolution that has just been adopted on El Salvador, and we look forward to an El Salvador that enjoys peace and is able to resume a programme of reconstruction, rehabilitation and development.

I now resume my function as President of the Council.

There are no further speakers. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The meeting rose at 12.35 p.m.